Page numbers in *italics* indicate

| tables or charts.                     | aid, conditional, 57–58               |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
|                                       | al Qaeda, 68, 73, 229                 |
| Abu Ghraib prison, 231–232            | Albright, Madeleine, 199              |
| Abu-Nimer, Mohammed, 521              | American Friends Service Committee    |
| accountability                        | (AFSC), 328, 435                      |
| as defined by UNDP, 141               | amnesty, 81-82, 81, 399, 512          |
| in international humanitarian law,    | amnesty-for-truth bargain, 386        |
| 224                                   | immunity from prosecution for         |
| in truth commissions versus           | international crimes and, 245,        |
| courts, 378-380, 381, 383-384,        | 384                                   |
| 386                                   | in Israeli-Palestinian conflict, 283  |
| Adekayne, J. 'Bayo, 352               | as necessary precondition for         |
| Afghanistan                           | negotiation, 33–34                    |
| application of international          | and peace agreements, 33–35, 518      |
| humanitarian law in, 229–231          | Amnesty International, 27, 75–76, 438 |
| DDR efforts in, 180                   | Anderson, Mary, 168                   |
| humanitarian aid to, 177, 178,        | Anfal campaign (Iraq), 315            |
| 182, 421, 513                         | Annan, Kofi, 35, 209, 210, 213        |
| neutrality issues in, 181–182         | annexation, as violation of interna-  |
| U.S. war on terrorism in, 229–231,    | tional law, 250-251                   |
| 248                                   | Appeal for Peace Conference (1999),   |
| Africa                                | 436                                   |
| forced migration in, 410, 413         | Argentina                             |
| postcolonial, 46, 48                  | conflict in, 76                       |
| African National Congress (ANC), 353  | National Commission on the            |
| African Union (AU), 50                | Disappeared (CONADEP),                |
| "Age of the Democratic Revolution,"   | 286, 401                              |
| 42                                    | arms control treaties, 217            |
| Agenda for Peace (Boutros-Ghali), 439 | Arnault, Jean, 509                    |
| aggression, defined by UN, 243        | Arnold, Kent, 346                     |
|                                       |                                       |

Ahtisaari, Martti, 200, 317

Arnold, Matthew, 100, 101, 104 Bosnian conflict, 57 Asia Foundation, 448 arms embargo in, 513 Asia Regional Resource Center for ethnic cleansing during, 212 Human Rights Education, 440 international response to, 52, Asian Development Bank, 484 Asian Human Rights Charter, 90 peace process in, 34, 355, 512-513, Assistance Mission in Afghanistan 522-523 (UNAMA), 179 refugee issues, 410-411 asylum, 421-422 Serb tactics during, 189 refoulement and denial of access, war crimes trials, 517 422-423 Boutros-Ghali, Boutros, 320, 439 right to, 408 Brahimi Report, 177 roadblocks to, 422-425 Bretton Woods agreements, 44 "safe states," 423-425 "Bridging the Divide: Exploring the Australia, refugee policy, 422, 423 Relationship between Human Austria, refugee policy, 424–425 Rights and Conflict Manageaut dedere aut judicare, principle of, ment" (Parlevliet), 437 244, 245 B'tselem, 292 authoritarian regimes, 46, 47 Bull, Hedley, 135 Avruch, Kevin, 519-520 Burton, John, 3-4, 138 Axworthy, Lloyd, 210 Burundi, conflict in, 52 Bush, George H. W., administration of Bailey, F. G., 99, 112 Gulf War, 27 Bait and Switch: Human Rights and lack of support for 1991 Iraq upris-U.S. Foreign Policy (Mertus), 91 ing against Hussein, 328 Baker, Pauline, 346-347 See also United States Baltic states, democratization in, 48 Bush, George W., administration of BATARJ (best alternative to restoraexportation of U.S. democratic tive justice), 84 and market values, 58 BATNA (best alternative to a negotimilitary commissions created ated agreement), 84 by, 253 Beirne, Maggie, 359-360 treatment of Iraq emissaries, 328 Belarus, token quasi-democracy in, 48 war on terrorism, 229-231, 247-Belfast Agreement, 364 248, 253, 270-272 Bell, Christine, 513 See also Iraq; United States Bhagavad Gita, 113 bias, among intervenors, 31-32 Cambodia Bidney, David, 106 human rights education in, 439 transformative education in, bin Laden, Osama, 68, 324 Bisharat, Ibrahim, 348 446-448 Blix, Hans, 324 UN Transitional Authority in, 446, Board of Immigration Appeals, 425 447, 448 Boas, Franz, 103-104, 105 Canada, ICISS launched by, 209-210

capitalism

Index 527

co-operation, as defined by UNDP,

emphasis of on civil and political 140 rights, 141 coalition building, 369 relativism and universalism of, Code of Conduct, for humanitarian 109-110, 116 relief, 160-161, 161-163, care, ethics of, 167-168 167-168, 183 Care International, 484 coercive strategies, timing of, 85-87, 89-90 Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict (1997), 133, coexistence interventions, 36 146-147 Cold War Carter, Jimmy, Haitian negotiation, 34 armed conflicts following, 48-49, categorical imperative, 164 Cedras, Gen. Raoul, 34 liberal versus Communist ideolo-Centre for Conflict Resolution, 88, 437 gies during, 45-46 Cerone, John, 515 collective penalties Chechnya, conflict in, 70 in Israeli-Palestinian conflict, 285 Chernomyrdin, Vladimir, 200 as violation of international law, Chile 249-250 collective rights, 278 amnesty law in, 245 Truth and Reconciliation Commis-Colombia, conflict in, 76, 77 sion in, 286, 380 combatants, international humanitar-China, in UN Security Council, 191, ian law covering, 231 199, 211 command responsibility, jurispru-Christian Peacemaker Teams, 328 dence of, 382-383 civic culture, 141-142 Committee on the Administration of civil and political rights, 43, 67, 311, Justice (CAJ), 358-360, 361, 479 363, 364, 365 civil society communism, as organizing ideology, democratization of, 464, 485-490 involvement in human rights communist regimes, human rights issues, 474-478 in, 43 organizations promoting, 278, Concert of Europe, 136 328, 329-330 confidence-building measures political elites and, 369 (CBMs), 283, 285, 365 in Sri Lanka, 462-464, 474-478 conflict contrasted with "crime," 80-81, 81 training for, 57-58, 326, 332 Clark, Gen. Wesley, 512, 522-523 forced migration and, 412-415 Claude, Richard Pierre, 448 human rights abuses as attack Clements, Kevin P., 133 strategy, 13 human rights and, 4-5, 6-7, 11, clientelism, 48 Clinton, Bill, administration of, 323-333, 350, 441 involvement in NATO bombing conflict resolution approach, of Kosovo, 192, 195 5, 8-9

conflict (cont.) peacebuilding, 294-297 human rights and interest-based approaches to, human rights approach, 5, 8-9, 520-521 519-520 international humanitarian law humanitarian law approach, 5, and, 509-510, 510-511 8-9, 519-520 mediators' role and perspective, intervenors' perspectives, 30-31 351 parties' perspective, 26-28 "muscular mediation," 57 victims' perspectives, 28-30 peace agreements and sustainable international pattern of response peace, 512-513 to, 52 peace and justice wing, 8 intervention in, 57–58 reconciliation and, 35-36 liberal democratic principles as synthesis with human rights cause of, 45-50 approach, 347-348, 509-510 negotiation or mediation of, 81, conflict transformation, 63-64, 519 349-350 agenda for coordinated action, 87-92 nonviolent, 74-77 over liberalization, 48-49 BATNA and BATARJ identification, post-Cold War environment, 84 349-350 human rights tensions with, sentimental or moralistic views 79-82, 346-347, 463, 511-514 of, 54 impartial approach valued in, stages of, 10 80 - 81armed conflict, 10, 13-16 needs-based approach to interintensification, 10-13 vention and, 515 postconflict/postcrisis stage, persuasive strategies used in, 10, 16–18 See also violence transforming relationships, 78 conflict managers, 346-347 See also human rights; peaceconflict resolution building approach of to human rights and consensus, as political tool, 144 conflict, 5, 8-9, 30-31, 518consequentialist ethics, 100, 161, 167, 519, 521 168 bias perceived in, 32 Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeals for Complex Humanitarian ending violence as goal of, 8, 512 human needs theory and, 138-Emergencies, 420-421 139, 515 constitutionalism, 43 human rights framework in, Convention for the Protection of 277-279, 346-347, 453 Human Rights and Fundaat government level, 288-291 mental Freedoms (1948), 134 implementation of peace agree-Convention Governing the Specific ment, 279-288 Aspects of Refugee Problems in at NGO level, 291-294 Africa (1969), 410

Convention on the Rights of the cuis regio, euis religio, principle of, 41 Child, 320, 433, 450 cultural imperialism, 143 Convention Regarding the Status of cultural needs and rights, 67, Refugees (1951), 406, 409-410, 116-117, 311 425 Cultural Survival, 116 exclusion clause, 409 cultural symbolism, 144 nonrefoulement, 422 cultural violence, 132-133 Convergence, 179 culturalism, 103-104, 114, 116-117 coordination networks, for conflict culture transformation and human as analytical and political concept, rights advocacy, 87-88 100-103 cosmopolitan model of human rights, common denominators in, 110-112 as concern of human rights advo-135, 136 Cote d'Ivoire, refugee issues, 422 cates, 98 Council of Europe, 345-346, 363, culturalism and analysis of, 421, 438 103-104, 114, 116-117 "Country Report on Human Rights effacement of, 112-113 Practices" (U.S. Department of esssentialization of, 103 State), 252 in Romantic tradition, 102-104 courts See also relativism; universalism compared to truth commissions, Curle, Adam, 86 378-379, 384, 399-400, 402 Czech Republic, democratization complementarity with truth comin, 48 missions, 384-387 criticisms of, 379-380 Darfur, conflict in, 209, 211 guilt or innocence as concern of, Dayton Accords, 34, 195, 351, 512 400 DDR. See demobilization, disarmaidea of command responsibility ment, and reintegration (DDR) developed in, 382-383 De Kock, Eugene, 386 information sharing with truth death penalty, extrajudicial killings commissions, 385-386 versus judicial punishment, 314 victims' justice priorities and, Declaration of Independence, 42, 112, 383-384, 517-518 113 "crime," in human rights framework, Declaration of the Rights of Man and 80-81,81 Citizen (1789), 42, 103 crimes against humanity, 222 Declaration on Principles of Interprosecution of, 33-34, 402 national Law (1970), 239, 243 terrorism as, 241-242 Declaration on the Right of Peoples criminal justice, 81 to Peace (1984), 152 Croatia Declaration on the Rights of Persons conflict in, 52 Belonging to National or Ethnic, ethnic cleansing in, 212 Religious, and Linguistic cross-cultural analysis, 113 Minorities (1992), 362

decommissioning, of paramilitary East India Company, 98, 99 organizations, 363-364 East Timor dehumanization, 113 aid to, 177, 178 demobilization, disarmament, and conflict in, 52 reintegration (DDR), 180 truth commission in, 385 democracy UN effort in, 204 illiberal, 48 Veterans' organizations in, 179 See also liberal democracy Economic Community of West Democratic Republic of the Congo, African States (ECOWAS), 50, conflict in, 87, 213 420 democratization economic policy, democratization economic policy and, 49 and, 49 economic rights, 67, 311 statehood and, 49 democratizers, 346-347 economic sanctions, 316-317, 326, deontological ethics, 100, 161, 168 328 derogable rights, 247-248, 271, 272 economic transition, in peace descriptive relativism, 105 process, 352 education. See human rights educadetention of refugees, 423 tion; peace education right to judicial review of, Eide, Asbjørn, 361-362 247-248, 272, 285 El Salvador development aid human rights agreement in, 354, as humanitarian assistance, 177 security and, 178 human rights education in, 439 See also humanitarian intervention Observer Mission for, 286 Development-induced migrants, 408 peace process in, 33 Deviance, Terrorism, and War: The truth commission in, 383 Process of Solving Unsolved Eliot, T. S., 102 Social and Political Problems empowerment, as defined by UNDP, (Burton), 3-4 140 dharma (duty), 113 enculturation, 108 dialogue, as positive peace process, environmental migrants, 407-408 143-145 epistemological relativism, 106-107 Donnelly, Jack, 135–136, 516, 517 equity, as defined by UNDP, 140 droit d'ingerence (right to intervene Escape from Violence, 413 to save lives), 162 ethics, consequentialist versus deon-Dublin Convention, 424 tological, 100 due process, 271 ethnic cleansing, in Kosovo, 188-189, denial of, 251-253, 314 192, 193, 197, 198, 203, 212 ethnocentrism, as issue in human Duffield, Mark, 168 duty, approaches to, 170-171 rights advocacy, 121-126 duty-bearers, 153 European Convention on Human duty-sharing, concept of, 165 Rights, 284, 362

European Court of Human Rights, Freire, Paolo, 439 247, 358 Friends Committee on National Legis-European Union, 50, 57 lation (FCNL), 322, 328 Evans, Gareth, 210 Fund for an Open Society-Serbia, 451 facilitated dialogue, 36 Gacaca process (Rwanda), 517 fair trials, 271-272 Galtung, Johan, 130, 132 Gasper, Des, 167 Falk, Richard, 92, 521 Gaza, 279-280, 325 Fisk, Robert, 186-187, 211 flexible diplomacy, in Kosovo, 191, Geneva Accord, 295 200, 201, 211 Geneva Conventions (1949), 26, 218-Flowers, Nancy, 521 219, 222, 231, 251 Additional Protocols (1977), 218, Foca case, 228 Force More Powerful, A, 327 219, 220 Protocol I, 220, 225, 226, 249 forced migration, 405 conflict and, 412-415 Article 8 (Fourth Convention), 225 definitions and concepts, Civilian Convention, 248-249, 250 406-408 Common Article 3, 220, 221, 225, first asylum, 421-422 228, 248 detention, 423 Fourth Convention, 227, 229, 231 expedited processing, 423-424 Third Convention, 231 independent review, 425 genocide, 222, 241-242, 402 refoulement and denial of in Kosovo, 514–515 in Rwanda, 4, 57, 213-214 access, 422-423 safe countries, 424-425 transnational courts' focus on, 401-402 humanitarian aid and, 413-421 insecurity of migrants and human-Genocide Convention, 195 itarian workers, 415-417 Germany institutional responses, 417-421 Nazi manipulation of human in Iraq, 314-315 rights grievances, 27 legal framework, 408-412 refugee policies, 424 protection frameworks for, 411 Gersmehl, Glen, 323-324 vulnerability to exploitation and, Gilligan, James, 82 416-417 Glennon, Michael, 196, 197 See also internally displaced per-Global Campaign for Peace Education sons (IDPs); refugees (1999), 436-437FORUT, 484 global civil culture, 141-142 Fourteen Points (Wilson), 44 Global IDP Project, 406 Framework Convention (Council of globalization Europe), 346, 362 human rights and, 40 "Frameworks for the Future" (1995), post-Cold War, 46 363 Golan Heights, 279 Franck, Thomas, 196-197 Good Friday Agreement, 283, 284

"Goodwill Classroom" project human, definition of and the "Other," (UNICEF), 450 113, 123, 126 Greensboro commission, 381-382 human absolutes, 109 Guantanamo Bay detainees, 247-248 human nature, universalism and, Guatemala 108-109 conflict in, 72, 76 human needs, 66-67 Historical Clarification Commisapproach of to human rights and sion, 400, 401, 402 conflict, 137-142, 515 human rights efforts in, 512 crossroads with human rights, Verification Mission in, 286, 509 283-284, 287-288 Guiding Principles on Internal Dislanguage of, 88-89 legitimate needs versus illegitimate placement, 406-407 Gulf War, 27, 203, 321, 322, 323, 328 greed, 70 localized articulation of, 90-91 habeas corpus, right of, 272 measurement of deprivation, 69-70 Hague Conventions (Hague law), theory of, 3-4 218-219, 225 unmet needs as cause of conflict, Annex to, 251 67 - 71human rights Fourth Convention, 229, 249 Martens clause, 219-220 advocates' approach of to conflict, Haiti 5, 8-9, 30-31 conflict negotiation in, 34 agenda for coordinated action, 87-92 Convergence in, 179 capacity building, 57-58 development aid to, 177 human rights education in, 439 coercive strategies used in pursuit refugees from, 422 of, 85-87, 136 Halliday, Denis, 319 collective rights, 278 Hallward, Maia Carter, 521 conflict and, 4-5, 6-7, 11, Havel, Vaclev, 186, 211 367-370, 513-514, 518-519 Healing Early Action Link (HEAL), 293 human rights investigations, hegemony, 136 32-33, 78, 509 Herder, Johann von, 102 status quo versus new order, Herskovitz, Melville, 105, 110 40-41 hijacking, as human rights violation, synthesis of approaches, 241 347-348 Hill, Chris, 190 violations as cause of conflict, Ho Chi Minh, 42 67-71, 352-353, 522 Holbrooke, Richard, 190, 195, 417-418 conflict transformation tensions Holland, Mary, 365-366 with, 79-82, 126, 312, hostage taking, 241, 245-246 346-347, 464, 511-514 HRE for Peace Building (Martin), 453 conflicting, 281-282 "HRE in UN Peace Building" (Marks), as cover for goals of national interest, 91 446-447

human rights (cont.) as created or constructed ideas, 113-114, 115 cross-cultural analysis of, 113-114 crossroads with human needs, 283-284, 287-288 cultural aspect, 12, 520 cultural common denominators and, 110-112 cultural relativism and, 115-116, 121-126 defining, 270 democratization of, 478-482 dignity of individual as basic to, 134-135, 310 enforcement of, 36, 311–312 equality principle in, 310-311 ethnocentric objections to, 122-126 focus on "crime" in, 80-81, 511-512 framework for, 310-313 generating, 283-288 globalization of, 40 1500 to post-Cold War era, 41 - 45post-Cold War conflicts, 45-50 hijacking as violation of, 241 human needs approach to, 137-142 humanitarian intervention and, 514-515 humanitarian law and, 271, 272, 509, 510-511, 518-519 implementation of agreements and, 369–370 indigenous rights as, 520 international legal framework, 23-26, 267-268, 350, 432-433, 515-516 intervenors' perspectives, 30-31 in Iraq intervention, 310-332 language of, 88-89 legitimate needs versus illegitimate greed, 70

legitimizing and integrative role, 355 localized articulation of, 90-91 Marxist view of, 43 measurement of deprivation, 69-70 monitoring of, 18 moral relativism and, 106, 107-108, 352 moral worth of human beings and, 310 natural law explanation of, 111-112 nonstate actors and, 267–268, 269, 270 in Northern Ireland peace process, 357-367 in Oslo peace process, 279-297 peace as human right, 516-517 peacebuilding and, 11-12, 16-17, 294-297, 509, 513 perspective of parties to conflict, 26-28 as political and historical invention, 124-126 in prenegotiation phase of peace process, 284 prosecution of violations, 33-34 recognition of, 311-312 rights of peoples and, 152 self-determination and, 42, 188, 200, 242-243, 479-480 sovereignty claims and, 210 statist model of, 135, 142 subordinate rights, 283 terrorism and, 239, 241-243, 269-270, 272-273 third generation of, 116-117 transformational role of, 312 transitional justice and, 286-287 type models of, 135-136 unilateral granting of, 282 universality in definition of, 12, 121-126, 135 victims' perspectives on, 28-30

human rights (cont.) defining, 175 Western legal model advocated dependency relationship created for, 82-83, 84, 85 by, 13 See also conflict transformation; droit d'ingerence, 162 peacebuilding duty-sharing in, 165 human rights advocates. See nonduty to respond to suffering, governmental organizations 13-14, 162-163, 180-181 (NGOs) emergence as international norm, Human Rights Committee (Inter-137 national Covenant on Civil ethical dilemma involved in, 15 and Political Rights), 247, 252 ethics of care, 167-168 human rights education, 522 forced migration and, 413-421 compared to peace education, fundamentalism in, 165-168 431-432, 442-443 human rights issues and, 514-515 content of, 436, 441 as imperative, 162, 163-165, 169, criteria for, 444-446 171, 172, 176-178 current trends, 441, 444, 453, in Kosovo, 185-205, 209-214 454 neutrality of, 511 defined, 440 peacebuilding and, 179-180 development of, 437-439 recipients' desire for, 210 merging with peace education, relationship between provider and 452-453 recipient in, 176-177 right to, 432–433 as rights-based expression of reintegration with peace education, values, 160-161, 162 439-440 rights-based versus needs-based, Human Rights Education Associates, 513, 520-521 440 sans frontier, 162 "Human Rights on Duty" (CAJ), security and, 178 359-360 by United Nations, 203-206 Human Rights Quarterly, 346, 509 See also development aid human security, 66 humanitarian law approach, to Humanitarian Accountability Project, human rights and conflict, 5, 8-9,271Humanitarian Charter, 160–161, Hungary, ethnic relations in, 48 163, 166 Hussein, Saddam, 331, 332 humanitarian intervention, 8, 522 human rights violations by regime armed force as part of, 14 of, 313-316, 321 "building blocks" strategy, 180resistance to, 329 standing as Arab leader, 326 community decision making and, support of by U.S., 324, 325 181 ultimatum delivered to by U.S., coordination of aid, 178 321 decolonization of, 169-170 See also Iraq

Ignatieff, Michael, 102 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (1996), 424, 425 illiberal democracies, 48 immunity in international humanitarian law, 223-224 from prosecution for international crimes, 244-245 impunity, culture of, 82 In Our Own Best Interest: How Defending Human Rights Benefits Us All (Schulz), 73 India, Meriah Wars in, 98-99, 112 indigenous rights, 116-117 individual, in international law, 224-225, 226 Indonesia, transmigration policies in, 412-413 Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, 245, 271, 272, 421 Inter-American Convention against Terrorism, 268-269 Inter-American Court of Human Rights, 245, 247, 251-252 internalized superiority, 70-71 internally displaced persons (IDPs), 180, 406-407, 411-412 Global IDP Project, 406 Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, 406-407, 417 in peacebuilding process, 514 protection of, 417 See also forced migration; refugees International Body on Arms Decomissioning, 363-364 International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS), 209-210, 212-213 International Committee of the Red Cross, 161, 162, 181, 210, 248-249, 250-251, 414, 418-419, 420

international community, involvement in peacemaking, 16-17 International Congress on the Teaching of Human Rights (1978), 433 International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 433 International Council on Human Rights, 319 International Court of Justice, 246 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), 134, 246-247, 252, 311, 320, 362, 438 International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (1966), 134, 311, 320, 432, 438 International Criminal Court, 26, 222, 230, 232, 516 Rome Statute, 221-222, 228, 230-231, 232 International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, 26, 379, 381, 517 International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), 26, 34, 192, 227, 228, 381, 400, 401-402 International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 161, 181 international humanitarian law (IHL), 25-26, 217-218, 509-510, 517-518, 519 application of in context of peace operations, 222 accountability, 223 immunities, 223-224 as bridge between conflict resolution and human rights, 510-511, 518-519 case studies Afghanistan, 229-231 Iraq, 231-232

rape, 227-228

international humanitarian law (IHL) International Working Group for (cont.) Indigenous Affairs, 116 erosion of interstate model, 224 internationalist model of human nonstate armed groups, rights, 135-136 225-227 intervenors evolution of, 218 bias among, 31-32 continuing relevance of cusperspectives of on human rights, tomary law, 219-220 30 - 31Hague law and Geneva law, See also nongovernmental orga-218-219 nizations (NGOs) law of noninternational armed intifada Al aqsa, 293 conflict, 220-221 Iran, U.S. hostages taken in, 246 relationship between IHL and Iraq international criminal law, Anfal campaign, 315 221-222 application of human rights future challenges, 232-233 framework in, 212-213 sovereignty and, 411-412 diplomatic options, 324-327 human rights in sanctions supervisory mechanisms, 272 as tool to govern military interregime, 316-321, 328 vention, 515 human rights violations within international law Iraq, 313–316, 328–329 anti-terrorism sanctions, 243-245 humanitarian cost of interapplication of to nonstate actors, vention, 322-324 15, 221, 224, 225, 267-268, supporting nonviolent change from within, 327-330 basis of in sovereign equality of civil society development in, 326, states, 220, 224 329, 330 denial of due process in, 251-253 invasion of Kuwait, 27, 316 as governor of state relations, 24 Oil-for-Food program, 318-319 human rights and, 23-26, 29, 152 regional partnerships in, 325-326 individual in, 224-225 sanctions against, 203, 316-321, right of intervention in, 515–516 326 violations of in response to tersocial spending in, 328 rorism, 245-254 U.S. military incursion in, 15–16, Westphalian system, 224, 225 39, 53, 73, 212, 231-232, 3328 International Military Tribunal background, 313-321 (Nuremburg), 221, 244, 382 humanitarian issues, 324-327 International Monetary Fund (IMF), initiation, 321-322 47, 50, 76 outcomes, 330-332 International Organization for Migraweapons inspections, 324-325 tion, 420 Irish Republican Army (IRA), 358, International Peace Bureau (IPB), 436 359, 368 International Rescue Committee, 213 Isherwood, Michael, 325-326

Islamic Declaration of Human Rights,

Index 537

Kaplan, Robert, 73

114 Karuna, 460, 469, 474 Israel Kaufman, Edy, 348, 521 Anti-terrorist activities in Palestine, Keenan, Alan, 518 250 Kellogg-Briand Pact (1928), 131, 134 Law of Return, 281-282 Kenyatta, Jomo, 42 Occupied Territories, 279-280, 325 KFOR/UNMIK peacekeeping process, settlement of occupied territories, 202-203, 224 King, Martin Luther Jr., 438 Israeli-Palestinian conflict, 15, 279-281 Kluckhohn, Clyde, 108 See also Oslo peace process Kosovo assessment of NATO intervention Jefferson, Thomas, 112, 254 in, 186-193, 209-212 Jerusalem, status of, 285-286 actions seen as humanitarian intervention, 201, 202, John XXIII (Pope), 438 jus in bello. See international humani-514-515 tarian law (IHL) configurative option, 198-199 just ad bellum, 217 diplomatic remedies, 190, 191, 199-202 "just peace," concept of, 15 "just war," theory of, 14 geopolitical issues, 195-198 justice rejection of legalism, 193-195, definitions of, 376-377 198-199 economic and social, 43 strategic bombing issues, natural, 99 201-202 conflict in, 52 relationship of to power, 196 ethnic cleansing in, 188-189, 192, relative priority of during postsettlement peacebuilding, 193, 197, 198, 206, 212 35-36, 519 humanitarian aid to, 178, 210 restorative, 80, 81, 82-85, 90, 380, KFOR/UNMIK peacekeeping 385 process, 202-203 retributive, 385 Racak massacre, 189 social, 454 Rambouillet negotiations, 190, truth-versus-justice debate, 191, 192, 200 382-383 Serbian minority in, 188–189 "victor's," 382 Kosovo Commission, 211 See also transitional justice Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), 189, JVP. See Sinhala People" Liberation 190, 192 Front (JVP) Kumaratung, Chandrika, 460, 466-467 Kabila, Laurent, 54 Kadirgamar, Lakshman, 461 Land-mine ban, 171 Kant, Immanuel, 110, 164, 167, 170, Latin America, postcolonial polities, 172, 194, 211 46

Latin American/Caribbean Program proposal for self-governing terri-(AFSC), 435 tory, 460, 465 law recruitment of child soldiers by, natural, 99, 110-112 469, 470, 477 rule of, as defined by UNDP, 140 violence of, 475-476 League of Nations, 44 withdrawal from peace talks, 460, legal framework, Western, 82-83, 462, 473, 476 84,85 See also Sri Lanka legitimacy, as dynamic condition, 139 Liberia conflict in, 79 Lerche, Charles, 516 "Letter to America" (bin Ladin), 68 refugees from, 422 Letters of Israel-PLO Recognition, Lome Agreement, 35 298 Lord, Janet, 521 lex talionis (eye for an eye), 110 LTTE. See Liberation Tigers of Tamil liberal democracy Eelam (LTTE) as basis for state making and world Luck, Edward C., 196 order, 41-45, 47, 136-137 Lund, Michael, 518 construction of states via, 50-52 Lutz, Ellen, 518 destabilization and, 47-48, 51 gradualist yet activist approach to Macedonia liberalization, 53-58 democratization in, 48 as part of the problem of conflict, Peace Agreement in, 351 45-50, 351 machpolitik, 98 patrimonialism versus, 53-54 Magna Carta, 42 transition to, 352 Mahdi, Kamil, 329 liberal market reform, 136-137 Mandela, Nelson, 351 "Liberal Talk, Realist Thinking" Manikkalingam, Ram, 311-312, 515 (Mearsheimer), 91 Marks, Stephen, 446-447, 448 Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam Marshall Plan, 44 (LTTE), 459, 461, 472 Martens clause (Hague Conventions), agreement to abide by human 219-220 rights standards, 473 Martin, Ian, 473, 476 desire for self-determination for Martin, Paul, 453 Tamil people, 479–480 Martin, Susan, 514, 517, 521 during postcolonial period, Marxism 464-466 emphasis on social, economic, engagement of with civil society, and cultural rights, 141 477 working class rights viewed by, 43 as focus of peace process, 466-469 mass migration. See forced migration human rights criticisms of, 469, material needs and rights, 67 470, 471, 472, 478, 479 Mayor, Federico, 129, 151 infighting among, 460, 469 McCrudden, Christopher, 365, 366 Karuna's faction, 460, 469, 474 MDC party (Zimbabwe), 48

Mearsheimer, John, 91 Nauru, refugee policies, 422 mediators, role and perspective of, 351 Nazism, 44 Meriah Wars, 98-99, 112 Neo-authoritarian regimes, 48 Mertus, Julie, 91, 521 Nepal, conflict in, 83 Middle East Program (AFSC), 435 Nesiah, Vasuki, 518, 519 military commissions, 251, 252, 253, New Zealand, refugee policies, 422 Nicaragua, conflict in, 77 Milosevic, Slobodan, 187 Nigeria indictment of, 192 conflict in, 4 policies in Kosovo, 187, 190, 197, truth commission in, 383 211-212 Nkrumah, Kwame, 42 Mitchell, George, 363, 364 nongovernmental organizations Montaigne, Michel de, 159 (NGOs) Moore, Jonathan, 513 Code of Conduct, 160-161, moral nihilism, 106 161-163 moral relativism, 105-106, 107-108, colonization of humanitarian 113, 352 responsibility, 169-170 mothers' organizations, 76 conflict resolution and human Mozambique, peace agreement in, 512 rights issues, 291-294, 296, Mugabe, Robert, 48 319-320, 518 Murdock, George P., 108 Humanitarian Charter, 160-161 Myanmar, neo-authoritarianism in, 48 humanitarian imperative and, Myers, Robert, 512 162, 163–165, 169, 521 to promote human rights, 25, 29, Namibia, peace agreement in, 512 35, 116, 160-161, 355, 520-522 Napoleon Bonaparte, 42 for refugee issues, 421 National Commission on the Disapseen as biased, 31-32 peared (CONADEP), 286 Sphere Minimum Standards for national socialism, as organizing Disaster Response, 160-161 ideology, 43 transformative education by, 440, NATO 448, 450, 452 assessment of intervention in See also nonstate actors Kosovo, 186-205, 209-214 noninternational armed conflict, law charter of, 196 of, 220-221 responsibility for economic and nonstate actors social reconstruction, 203 application of international law to, role of in apprehending war crimi-15, 224, 225, 231-232, nals, 34 267-268, 269, 270 use of in intrastate challenges, engagement of in land-mine ban, 196-197 171 viewed as U.S. pawn, 195-196 human rights violations by, natural justice, 99 267-268, 269 natural law, 99, 110-112 humanitarian duty of, 170

nonstate actors (cont.) "peace walls," 368 international humanitarian law policing issues, 354, 359-360, governing armed groups, 367-368 Women's Coalition, 366 226-227 involvement in humanitarian Norway, as facilitator of Sri Lanka activities, 178-179 peace process, 459, 466, 469, role in conflict transformation, 71 472, 482 Norwegian Refugee Council, 406 role of, 520-523 Nozick, Robert, 399 See also nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) Nunn, Sam, 34 nonviolence nonviolent change, 327-330 Øberg, Jan, 133–134 versus just wars, 278 occupation Northern Ireland peace process, 354, as a result of war, 250-251 357-358 law of, 229-230 antidiscrimination legislation, Okelo, Francis, 35 363-364 Open Society Institute, 451 Assembly, 367, 368 Organization for Security and Coassessment of, 368 operation in Europe (OSCE), autonomy in, 362 50, 363, 421 Belfast Agreement, 364, 365 Organization of African Unity (OAU), Catholic/Nationalist demand for 410, 420 civil rights, 358 Organization of American States Cease-fires in, 359, 361 (OAS), 50 Charter of Rights, 365 Oslo peace process, 277-278 Confidence-building measures, "Geneva Accord," 295 human rights as missing element, 279-281 consociational power-sharing in, 360, 362, 363 conflict of rights, 281-282 Equality Commission, 365 documentation, 298-301 equality in, 362, 367-368 generating rights, 283-288 "Frameworks for the Future," 363 at government level (ruling group accommodation in, group), 288-290 362-363 at government level (underdog), 290-291 human rights actors in, 358-360 Human Rights Commission, 365, at NGO level, 291-294 peacebuilding process, 294-297 human rights issues in, 360-367 subordinate rights, 283 insider/outsider dynamics of, unilateral granting of rights, 282 366-367 negotiation phase, 285 parallel peace process, 365–366 Jerusalem status, 285-286 paramilitary decommissioning, water rights, 286 363-364, 368 postnegotiation phase, 286-288

Oslo peace process (cont.) peace agreements prenegotiation phase, 284 amnesty and, 33-35, 518 reconciliation in, 286-287, conflict addressed by, 513 290-291 implementation of, 522-523 shared victimhood in, 290-291 sustainable peace and, 512-513 "Stop Killing Our Children" Peace Brigades International (PBI), campaign, 301-302 Taba meeting (2000), 295 peace education "Other" bridging gap with human rights cultural violence against, 132-133 education, 435 dehumanization of, 113 compared to human rights edurespect for needs and rights of, cation, 431-432, 442-443 281, 284, 290, 292 content of, 441 Oxfam, 484 criteria for, 444-445 current trends, 441, 444, 454 "Pacem in Terris" (John XXIII), 438 defined in practice, 434-437 Palestine establishment of, 438 right of return in, 281–282 merging with human rights edu-Social Security for residents of cation, 452-453 East Jerusalem, 282 reintegration with human rights Paris Peace Agreement (1991), 446, education, 439-440 447 right to, 432-433 Paris Peace Conference, Responsibili-Peace Education Foundation, 434 ties Committee, 249 Peace Education Program (AFSC), Parlevliet, Michelle, 88, 89, 347-348, 369, 437, 441, 453 Peace Education Working Group participation, as defined by UNDP, 140 (UNICEF), 435-436 patrimonialism, versus liberal Peace Now, 292 democracy, 53-54 peace operations applicability of international peace as absence of war, 131, 132 humanitarian law to, 222-224 building capacity for, 78-79 forced migration and, 415-416 education for, 146-147 peace process as fundamental right, 12-13, economic transition in, 352 129-130, 133, 145-146, human rights clauses in, 284, 151-155, 516-517 350-355, 367-370 kinds of, 130 implementation of agreement durpositive versus negative, 51-52, ing, 369-370 132-133, 134, 141, 146, 352, international involvement in, 354 peacebuilding, 133-134, 453, 519 434 proactive, 146 amnesty problem and, 33-35, 512 state guarantee of, 131 dialogue and, 143-145 sustainable, 512-513, 517-518, 519 framework for, 64-66

peacebuilding (cont.) "Procedures for Trials by Military human rights and conflict trans-Commissions of Certain Nonformation in, 11-12, 16-17, United States Citizens in the 294-297, 514 War Against Terrorism" (U.S. building capacity, 78-79 Department of Defense), 253 reducing direct violence, professional civil society. See civil 77 - 78society Progressive Union Party (PUP), 366 transforming relationships, 78 waging conflict nonviolently, Protocol Relating to the Status of Refu-74-77 gees (1967), 406, 409, 422, 425 humanitarian activities and, 179-180 Racak, massacre at, 189 impact of refugees and IDPs, 514 race, culture and, 102 map of, 75 Rajapakse, Mahinda, 461-462 Rambouillet Accord, 190, 191, 192, process of, 71-72 relative priority of justice and 200, 351 reconciliation, 35-36 rape, as war crime, 227-228 spiritual consciousness and, 145 Rawls, John, 110 Peacebuilding and Demilitarization realism (realpolitik), ideology of, 73, Program (AFSC), 435 136, 289-290 People's Alliance (PA), 466-467 Reardon, Betty, 434, 441 People's Decade for Human Rights reconciliation, 290-291 Education, 440 relative priority of during post-"Perpetual Peace" (Kant), 194 settlement peacebuilding, persuasive strategies, timing of, 35-36, 286-287 85-87, 89-90 refoulement, 422-423 Peru, use of military commissions in, refugee returnees, 407 251, 252 refugees, 406, 514 Philosophers' committee (UNESCO), Convention Regarding the Status 98 of Refugees (1951), 406 Pinochet, Augusto, 380 defining, 409 political development programs, 57 as destabilizing factor, 17 political rights, 43, 67 High Commissioner for Refugees post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), (UNHCR), 406 protection frameworks for, 411 postcolonial polities, 46 Protocol Relating to the Status of Powell, Colin, 34, 321 Refugees (1967), 406 rights of, 479 power asymmetry of between Israel and See also forced migration; inter-Palestine, 293, 295 nally displaced persons (IDPs) relationship of to justice, 196 regional institutions, norms set by, Prcac, Dragoljub, 381 57-58 prescriptive realism, 73 regional partnerships, 325-326

relativism

Index 543

Rwanda

cultural, 100, 104-108, 115-116 gacaca process, 517 descriptive, 105 genocide in, 4, 57, 213-214 epistemological, 106-107 grassroots decision making in, moral, 105-106, 107-108, 113, 181 352 humanitarian aid to, 511 tolerance and, 106 International Criminal Tribunal for, 26, 379, 381, 517 religion, cultural effacement by, 112-113 international response to, 52, 203, religious wars, of early 1600s, 41 Renteln, A. D., 110 postconflict polarization in, 35 repatriation, 407 Sachs, Jeffrey, 92 "Report on Terrorism and Human Rights" (Inter-American "safe states," 423-425 Human Rights Commission), Sahnoun, Mohamed, 210 268, 271 Said, Abdul Aziz, 516 Responsibility to Protect, The (ICISS), Salim, Izzedine, 331 209-210 Save the Children, 484 Schengen Implementation Treaty, responsiveness, as defined by UNDP, 140 424 restorative justice, 80, 81, 82-85, Schirch, Lisa, 296-297, 518, 519 380, 385 Schoenholtz, Andrew, 514, 517, 521 BATARJ and, 84 Schulz, William F., 73 incorporation of in peacebuilding, security, inclusion of human rights in, 8 Rettig Commission, 286 Seko, Mobutu Sese, 4, 54 Right-holders, 153 Self-determination right of return, in Israeli-Palestinian right of, 42, 188, 200, 242-243 peace process, 281-282 in Sri Lanka, 479-480 Rights Awareness Teams, 448-449 terrorism and, 242-243 September 11 World Trade Center Robertson, Geoffrey, 399 Romantic tradition, concept of culture attacks, 226, 229, 248, 270 in, 102-104 Serbia restoration of civilian infrastruc-Rome Statute, 221–222, 228, 230–231, 232 ture in, 203 Roosevelt, Eleanor, 408 transformative education in, 449-452 Rorty, Richard, 107 Rumsfeld, Donald, 324, 331 shame, mobilization of, 75-76 Russia Sharon, Ariel, 328 democratization in, 48 Sierra Leone Kosovo negotiations, 200 peace negotiations in, 35 in UN Security Council, 191, 199, truth commission in, 383-384, 211 385-386

Sinhala People's Liberation Front definitions of civil society, (JVP), 460, 461, 465, 468, 469, 485-486 471, 475 democratic deficits in, 485-490 Sinn Féin, 363, 366 engagement with LTTE, 477 international donor funding Six Day War (1967), 277 slavery, as human rights violation, 241 for, 464, 489-490 SLFP. See Sri Lanka Freedom Party involvement in human rights (SLFP) issues, 474-478 Slim, Hugo, 521 political activity, 488-489 Slovakia, democratization in, 48 recommendations for improve-Social Democratic and Labor Party ment, 490-492 (SDLP), 366 election of 2005, 461-462 social needs and rights, 43, 67, 311 grassroots decision making in, 181 Somalia human rights in, 462-464, 520 conflict in, 57 civil society interventions, humanitarian aid to, 178, 181 474-478 Somaliland, as self-declared state, 179 democratization of, 478-482 South Africa fear as factor, 474-475 bill of rights in, 353 violations as threat to peace democratization in, 48 process, 469-472 Truth and Reconciliation Commishuman rights NGOs in, 35, 292 sion, 82, 85, 286, 287, 377, humanitarian issues, 479 IDPs in, 180 384, 386-387, 401 sovereign state. See state Monitoring Mission, 469, 470, 472 sovereignty Peace Brigades International in, 77 concept of, 71 peace process in, 459-462, 484, enforcement of human rights and, 153 democratization of process, IHL and, 411-412 482-485 inclusion of responsibility for international involvement in, 484-485 welfare of residents, 411-412 See also state LTTE as focus, 466-469 Sphere Minimum Standards for meaning of "peace" to different Disaster Response, 160–161, factions, 483-484 162-163, 166, 168 organization of, 463 spiritual consciousness, peacebuildsingle human rights standard ing and, 145 for, 472-474 spoilers, as necessary elements in trust building, 482-483 peace settlements, 79 "war for peace" strategy, 467, Sponek, Hans von, 319 Sri Lanka political effects of tsunami in, 461 Anti-democratic practices in, 481 political parties, 460, 461, 465, civil society in, 462-464, 472-474 466-469, 471, 475

Sri Lanka (cont.)

Index 545

strategic bombing, reliance on, 201

postcolonial conflicts, 464-466 Sudan self-determination for Tamil conflict in, 209, 211, 213 people, 479-480 transformative education in, state violence in, 475 448-449 University Teachers for Human Sudan People's Liberation Army Rights, Jaffa (UTHR-J), (SPLA), 448 471-472, 475 Summer Peacebuilding Institute, See also Liberation Tigers of Tamil 63 - 64Survival International, 116 Eelam (LTTE) Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), 460, sustainability, as defined by UNDP, 465, 466, 468, 471 140 state sustainable human development, as agent of social change, 43 139-141 communism as organizing ideology, 43 Tadic case (ICTY), 401, 402 development of preceding democ-Taliban, 229 ratization, 49 Tamil Eelam, 465 Temporary Protected Status (U.S.), duty to protect citizens from invasion and violence, 153 411 fragile or failed, 49-50, 54-55, terrorism 185, 351 as act of war, 270-271 international human rights and, as crime against humanity, 222 definition of, 240-241 136, 137, 142, 154 liberal democracy as organizing in human needs and human rights ideology, 43-45, 50-52 framework, 68-69 national socialism as organizing as human rights violation, 15, 239, ideology, 43 241-243, 269-270, 272-273 as principle constituent of interinternational law violations in national system, 44-45 response to, 253-254 prohibition against violence to civilian transfer to occupied settle personal disputes, 131 territory, 250-251 treatment of refugees, 409 collective penalties, 249-250 violation of individual rights by, 71 denial of due process, 251–253 state making, liberal democracy as hostage taking, abductions, and basis for, 41-45 arbitrary detention, 245-248 statelessness, 407 torture and cruel and inhustatist model of human rights, 135, mane treatment, 248-249 as response to expansion of West-Steering Committee for Humanitarian ern liberalism, 47 Response (SCHR), 161 sanctions against, 243-245, 270 "Stop Killing Our Children" campaign, self-determination and, 242-243 301-302 treated as crime, 269

terrorism (cont.) criticisms of, 378 U.S. response to, 58, 73 historical function of, 400-401 as war crime, 241-242 information sharing with courts, 385-386 war on, 58, 229-231, 245, 247-248, 253, 270-271, 272 mandate of, 382 tolerance, relativism and, 106 manipulation of truth by, 377-378, torture 381-382 prohibition of in Israel-Palestinian in South Africa, 82, 85, 286, 287, peace process, 285 377, 384, 386-387, 401 as response to terrorism, 248-249 terroristic, 241 Uganda, conflict in, 516 track 2 diplomacy, 57-58 Ukraine, democratization in, 48 Ullman, Harlan, 322 transformative education in Cambodia, 446-448 Ulster Democratic Party (UDP), 366 criteria for, 444-446 UNESCO. See United Nations in Serbia, 449-452 UNICEF. See United Nations in Sudan, 448-449 UNISON, 364 See also human rights education; United National Party (UNP), 460, peace education 465, 466, 467-468 transitional justice, 286-287, **United Nations** 356-357, 375-376, 399 as agent of gradualist liberalization, restorative and retributive paths, 55-57 385 amnesty and pardon stance, 35 Assistance Mission in Afghanistan truth in, 377-378 transitional societies, 368-369 (UNAMA), 179 transitions, 356-357 in Bosnia, 189 "three in one," 352 Brahimi Report, 177 transparency, as defined by UNDP, 140 Charter, 24, 45, 131, 134, 194, 200, Treaty of Westphalia, 41 254, 345 truth Article 1, 317, 319-320 in transitional justice, 377-378, Article 2(4), 190-191, 194, 201, 381-382, 399 243 truth-versus-justice debate, Article 51, 201 382-383 Article 53, 190 truth and reconciliation commis-Article 55, 431 sions, 17 Article 55(c), 252 accountability issues, 378-380, Article 56, 252 381, 383-384, 386, 517 Chapter VII, 222, 316-317 in Chile, 286 Children's Fund (UNICEF), 419, compared to courts, 380, 384, 431, 435-436, 448-450, 451, 452 399-400, 402 in conflict resolution, 521 complementarity with courts, Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of, 223-224 384-387

United Nations (cont.) right to peace declared by, Decade for Human Rights Educa-129-130, 132 tion, 440 Security Coordinator (UNSECOORD), 416 Definition of Aggression, 243 Department of Peacekeeping Security Council, 131 Operations, 419 Chapter VII powers, 222, Development Program (UNDP), 316-317 139-141, 419 condemnation of hostage takin East Timor, 204 ing and abduction in war on Geneva Conventions in, 222 terror, 245-246 Genocide Convention, 195 debate over sovereign rights High Commissioner for Human and humanitarian interven-Rights, 418, 419, 440 tion, 185 High Commissioner for Refugees Resolution 242, 277 (UNHCR), 406, 410-411, 417, Resolution 661, 317 418, 418, 425, 511 Resolution 706, 318 Resolution 712, 318 human rights education and peace education initiatives, 439-440 Resolution 986, 318 human rights standards applicable Resolution 1244, 191, 200 to, 311 in Sri Lanka, 484 IDPS assisted by, 417, 418-419 terrorism condemned by, 239-240 independent enforcement capabil-Transitional Authority in Camboities considered for, 203-204 dia (UNTAC), 446, 447, 448 international humanitarian law transnational courts established applicable to, 222 by, 401 Iraq issues truth commissions formulated Iraq war dissent, 212-213, 321, by, 401 UNESCO, 98, 145, 147, 431, 451 325 Oil-for-Food Program, 318-319 Verification Mission in Guatemala sanctions, 316-321, 326, 328 (MINUGUA), 286, 509 weapons inspections, 324-325 war crimes and crimes against Israel settlements in occupied terhumanity prosecution, 244 ritory condemned by, 251 war prevention goals of, 200-201, Kosovo conflict and, 189–191, 199, 202 202-203 World Food Program, 419 Observer Mission for El Salvador **United States** (ONUSAL), 286 Afghanistan invasion, 229-231, Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), attitude toward UN, 185, 203-204 417, 418 civil rights movement in, 86 representative of the Secretary-Civil War in, 26 General for Internally Displaced exportation of democratic and Persons, 418 market values, 58

United States (cont.) in Oslo peace process, 278, 279, geopolitical prerogative of, 195-281, 284 196, 197 right to asylum, 408 universal rights, concept of, 41-42 in Gulf War, 27, 203, 321, 322, 323 hegemonic role of in European universalism security policy, 190 cultural, 100, 102, 103, 104-108 Iran hostage crisis, 246 human nature and, 108-110 in Iraq, 15-16, 39, 53, 73, 212, 328 human rights and, 135 attitude toward human rights University Teachers for Human Rights, and sanctions, 319 Jaffa (UTHR-J), 471-472, 475 background, 313-321 UNP. See United National Party (UNP) diplomatic options, 324–327 USS Cole bombing, 229 effect on U.S. civilians, 323-324 USSR, former states of, democratizahuman rights abuses by milition in, 48 tary, 231-232, 331 UTHR-J. See University Teachers for humanitarian issues, 322-324 Human Rights, Jaffa (UTHR-J) intervention as violation of Uzbekistan, as statist entity, 48 international law, 325 outcomes, 330-332 varna (caste), 113 protests against invasion, 329 "veil of ignorance," 110 justice in, 384 Versailles Conference, 44 in Kosovo, 192, 195, 199-200 victims as NATO member, 192, 195–196, in conflicts, 80 199-200 needs of, 83-84, 379, 380, as promulgator of liberal democ-383-384 racy, 44 shared victimhood, 290-291 ratification of Hague and Geneva Vienna Declaration (1993), 141, Conventions, 220 439-440 realpolitik in, 73 violence refugee issues and legislation, cultural, 132-133 410-411, 422, 423, 424, 425 cycle of, 69 war on terrorism, 58, 245 levels of, 67-68 detainees, 247-248 reducing direct forms of, 77-78 military commissions, 253, 272 secondary forms of, 82–83 treating terrorism as act of war, structural, 71-72, 91-92, 132 270-271 See also conflict United States Institute for Peace, 57 Voices in the Wilderness, 328-329 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), 24, 44, 98, 110, war 125, 134, 152, 242, 246, 311, diplomatic alternatives to, 202 345, 408, 431, 432, 437-438 humanitarian duty during, 170, Article 13, 408 515 Article 14, 409 injustices during, 81-82

war (cont.) law of. See international humanitarian law recourse to as last resort, 201 strategic alternatives to, 72-74 transition to peace, 352 war crimes List of War Crimes (1919), 249 prosecution of, 33-34, 244 rape as, 227-228 terrorism as, 241-242 Warrior Politics; Why Leadership Demands a Pagan Ethos (Kaplan), 73 Washington Consensus, 50 weapons of mass salvation, 92 Weiss, Tom, 521 West African Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP), 88 West Bank, 279-280, 325 Westphalian system of international law, 224, 225 Wickremas, Ranil, 460 Wickremasinghe, Ranil, 461, 467 Wilson, Woodrow, 44 Wissler, Clark, 108 Witness for Peace, 77 Women's Coalition (Northern Ireland), 366

Woodward, Bob, 321
Workers Aid, 512
World Bank, 47, 50, 57, 76, 484
World Commission on Culture and
Development, 141
World Conference on Human Rights
(1993), 439–440
World Food Program, 419
World Health Organization (WHO),
317–318
World Refugee Survey 2002, 421
World Trade Center bombing (1993),
229
Wye River Memorandum (1998),
298

Yugoslav Child Rights Centre, 450 Yugoslavia, former International Tribunal for, 26, 34, 192, 227, 228, 381, 400, 401–402 wars in, 26

Zaire, conflict in, 4, 54
ZANU-PF party (Zimbabwe), 48
Zehr, Howard, 83
Zimbabwe, as "in transition" country,
48